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SECURITY INFORMATION

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
OFFICE OF NATIONAL ESTIMATES

28 August 1953

SUBJECT: NIE ____: PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN

Board will meet on this estimate at 1:30 p.m.

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28 August 1953

SUBJECT: TERMS OF REFERENCE: NIE ____:
PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN IRAN
(Draft for Board Consideration)

THE PROBLEM

To estimate the prospects for stability and probable developments in Iran.

QUESTIONS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

I. CAUSES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF MOSSADEQ'S DOWNFALL

a. Causes of Mossadeq's decline: What brought about the division and weakening of the forces behind Mossadeq in the months prior to his downfall? How and to what extent did Mossadeq's acts and policies diminish his power? What was the political effect of Mossadeq's failure to resolve the oil problem, of his dissolution of the Majlis, of his

SECRET

SECRET

increasingly dictatorial methods? What influence did Mossadeq's policies have upon the loyalty of the security forces? What was the political effect of Mossadeq's dependence upon the support of Tudeh?

b. Composition of the opposition to Mossadeq: What elements of the opposition were former Mossadeq supporters and why did they change sides? What were the various elements in the opposition to Mossadeq on the eve of his overthrow?

c. Circumstances of Mossadeq's overthrow: To what extent and in what manner were the events of August 15-19 anticipated and planned by Iranians and to what extent were they spontaneous? How important was the role of General Zahedi, the Shah, other prominent persons? What was the role of the security forces, and how were they brought to play it? What was the reaction of the tribes to these events? What was the composition and character of the various mobs involved in the events leading to Mossadeq's overthrow? Why did the mob turn against Mossadeq? Why did it turn to the Shah?

- 2 -

SECRET

SECRET

II. SITUATION OF THE SUCCESSOR GOVERNMENT

a. Extent of change produced by the downfall of Mossadeq:

To what extent may the political forces and popular attitudes characteristic of the Mossadeq era be expected to persist? What are the principal new elements in the political situation introduced by the overthrow of Mossadeq?

b. Character and composition of pro-government forces: What are the various parties and groups that now support the government? What are the reasons for their support? How homogeneous is the combination? Are there any important incompatibilities or antagonisms among pro-government groups which are likely to produce conflicts in the future? What are the possibilities for re-alignment of the forces now supporting the government? How would political stability be affected by the reorganization of forces?

c. Public opinion: What are the most significant public attitudes toward the present government? What are the principal symbols and ideas which incline the public to favor or to oppose the government? How effectively is the government managing its relations with the public?

- 3 -

SECRET

SECRET

d. Character and ability of government leaders: Who are the most prominent and important personalities in the government and among its supporters? How well do they cooperate and how do their abilities measure up to their tasks? What is the role of General Zahedi, and how well is he adapted to it? Is his authority disputed? What is the relation between Zahedi and the Shah? between the Shah and other government leaders?

e. The security forces: What is the relation between the government and the security forces? How firm is the government's control of the security forces? What has the government done to insure the support of the security forces? Evaluate the loyalty of the several elements in the security forces.

f. The opposition: What are the various elements in the opposition to the government, and what effect did Mossadeq's overthrow have upon them? What is the present position, strength, and policy of Tudeh, the National Front, the pan-Iran Party, the Third Force, and of other significant anti-government groups? What are the prospects for a United Front of Tudeh and the National Front, and what would be the consequences of such a combination? How much influence do opposition groups have in the security forces, and what are the prospects for its further development? What kind of support can the Soviet Union be expected to give to Tudeh and for what ends?

SECRET

g. **Internal stability:** Is the government now able to maintain public security and stability and will it be able to do so in the future? What is the attitude of the tribes toward the government likely to be? What are the principal threats to internal security? now and in the future? How would the government respond to an attempt on the part of opposition groups to organize a seizure of power? What will be the policy of the government toward native Communists? How will this policy be carried out? Estimate the probable capabilities of the security forces to respond promptly in support of the government.

- 5 -

SECRET

SECRET

III. GOVERNMENT INTENTIONS AND CAPABILITIES WITH RESPECT TO MAJOR PROBLEMS

a. Financial and economic problems: What is the current financial position of the Iranian government? What are the prospects for government finances, with and without foreign aid? What is the current economic position of Iran? What are Iran's principal economic problems and economic needs? What economic policies and programs are likely to be put forward and with what effect? What is Iran's capacity to absorb foreign aid? What would be the financial and economic effect of such a settlement of the oil dispute and of economic aid in such magnitude as now seems possible? What are government intentions with respect to economic and social reform and development? What are the prospects that these intentions will be implemented, and what would be the effect of such implementation?

b. The oil problem: What are the government's intentions with regard to a settlement with the UK and the AIOC of the dispute over the nationalization of Iranian oil? What are the intentions of the British? Does a negotiated settlement appear to be possible? If so, what kind? Could the present government gain public acceptance of such a settlement? What role will the Iranian Government expect the US Government to play in a settlement of the oil problem?

SECRET

c. **Economic aid:** What kind of economic aid and how much will the Iranian Government ask of the US, and how will this request for aid be related to an oil settlement?

d. **Government and politics:** How is the present government of Iran organized? Who exercises authority and how? What is the publicly professed political philosophy and what are the official objectives of the government? How do these correspond with reality? What is the attitude of those in power toward constitutional government, the role of the Shah, the Majlis, the Senate, and future elections? How effectively are the various government operations being performed? Has the government made it possible for the most competent civil servants and the most promising new political talent to assume responsibilities? What is the relation between the government and the formerly dominant class of conservative landowners? What is the relation of the government and the Court? What is the role of political parties?

e. **Foreign relations:** What are government relations with and policy toward other countries, particularly the USSR, the UK, and the US? Will the government attempt to and will it be able to control violent anti-westernism in Iran? What is the government position with respect to the US military missions

SECRET

and Point IV? What is the government position on the formulation of some kind of defense arrangement with the US and other Western nations, with other Middle Eastern nations?

- 8 -

SECRET

SECRET

IV. PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS

a. Prospects for the present government: Estimate the overall capabilities of the present government to stay in power and to avoid further serious deterioration of Iran's domestic and foreign situation.

b. Possible modifications in the present government: What developments are most likely to produce a change in the composition and the policy of the present government? What would those changes be? What are the possible alternative alignments of the forces presently supporting the government? What effect would such re-alignments have upon the policy and conduct of government? What groups now cooperating with the government are most likely to join the opposition? Are there any opposition groups which might join with the dominant majority, and under what circumstances might they do so? With what effect?

c. Alternatives to the present government: What are the principal weaknesses of the present government coalition, and what developments are most likely to bring its downfall? What is the most likely successor government? What would be the probable overall consequences of the assumption of power by such a successor government?